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ABSTRACT

Between 1960 and 1970, the black population of the southern United States increased only four percent by comparison with a national increase in black population of twenty percent. Considering the many factors involved in population redistribution, this report compares southern and overall national trends in black population and analyzes the redistribution of blacks within the South for the decade 1960-1970. Attention is first given to the two major components of growth, natural increase (the balance of births and deaths) and net migration (the difference between in- and out-migration). Variations in patterns of black population growth in different states are then examined. It is hypothesized that losses of blacks from rural areas were offset by gains in the cities, as the highest rates of growth of black population occur in metropolitan areas. Within these areas, however, distinct differences between the rings and the inner cities are evident. In addition, it is pointed out, the movement of blacks into southern cities has been accompanied by the movement of whites from the central cities to the suburbs. Throughout this report statistics are presented to illustrate the trends discussed. (Author/MC)

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The Distribution of Southern Black Population

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The Distribution of Southern Black Population

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INTRODUCTION

Between 1960 and 1970 the black population of the South increased by only four percent, from 9.9 to 10.3 million. This compares with a national increase in black population of 20 percent, from 18.9 to 22.7 million. For the nation as a whole, the growth of black population was considerably higher than that of white population (12 percent). In the South, however, blacks fell far below whites in that respect. Consequently, the proportion of Southern population that was black fell from 23 to 20 percent over the decade. Interestingly, the South now has almost exactly the same proportion of black population as did the newly independent nation of 1790, the year of the first census. And for the first time, over half of the black population lives outside the Confederate South.[1]

Variations in the proportion of black population depend upon relative rates of growth of blacks, whites, and other groups. Before the Civil War there was actually a decline in the number of blacks in several of the Northern states and cities, and the black population was more concentrated in the South in 1870 than ever before. Not until World War I was there massive movement out of the South, and that largely to cities in the Northeast. During the Great Depression migration from the South slackened but attained great momentum with World War II. Cities in the Middle West gained great numbers of blacks after 1940, as eventually did those on the West Coast.

Cities in the South have become increasingly attractive to black migrants. Like the Northern cities of Newark, New Jersey, and Gary, Indiana, Atlanta and Augusta, Georgia, have 50 percent or more black population. Opportunities in rural areas have been diminished for everybody, but for blacks more than for whites. In fact, only in the South is a large rural black population to be found. No more than five percent of the blacks in the North and West are found in nonmetropolitan areas, and within the South the young black farm population is nearing the vanishing point. In some rural counties 50 percent or more of blacks who reach the age of high school graduation leave, the great majority to go to the city. Many still head North or West, but an increasing number move to Southern cities.

There are many factors involved in the redistribution of population, so the Southern Regional Council has undertaken the task of comparing Southern and national trends in black population and of analyzing the redistribution of blacks within the South for the decade 1960-1970. Such information is essential for state and regional planning, as it is for agencies and organizations concerned with the improvement of quality of life in the South.

Included in the South, as defined here, are the states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas, the South of the Confederacy. Within these states are 1,105 counties, data for each of which are presented in the maps appended to this report. It should be noted that for Virginia, where certain cities do not have county affiliation, county totals do not add to the total for the state. In addition to counties, Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's) are considered. These metropolitan areas are defined as combinations of counties, clustering around the central county which includes the central city, or central cities, of 50,000 population or more. That part of the metropolitan area which lies outside the central city is referred to as the "ring." While the ring includes much more area than the indefinable "suburbs," it nevertheless has a high proportion of suburban population. Differences between central city and ring, therefore, are usually taken as differences between central city and suburbs.

In the discussion that follows, attention is first paid to the components of growth: natural increase, the balance of births and deaths; and net migration, the difference between in- and out-migration. The next section deals with growth by states, and the following section considers the increase of the more than 1,000 counties in the South. Next, attention is turned to growth in metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas, keeping in mind the important distinction between central city and ring. Finally, we offer some speculations about the future.

[1]The Census South also includes Maryland, Kentucky, Delaware, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia. It is the inclusion of these states and the nation's capital in the Census South that permits the conclusion that more than half of the blacks are still in the South.

COMPONENTS OF BLACK POPULATION GROWTH

From a demographic perspective, growth may be broken into two major components, natural increase and net migration. Net migration is the balance between those who move into an area—a county, for example—and those who move out of it within a given period of time. Historically, the black population of the South has been characterized by net out-migration.

Net migration and natural increase are often interrelated. Those who migrate most frequently, whether black or white, are young adults, including women in the prime of the child-bearing years. Thus, an area with heavy net out-migration might also be characterized by an older population. It might also have a low rate of natural increase because of the smaller proportion of child-bearing women and larger proportion of old people. The reverse is also true. Areas characterized by net in-migration have high child-bearing potential because they tend to gain young adults.

Rates of natural increase are generally consistent for whites and blacks—where one is high the other is also high. The major demographic component in the redistribution of population is migration, and until recently the most important flows were from rural to urban areas.

Complex psychological and economic factors are involved in the decision to move, and migration always has some negative elements. Moving is expensive. It means breaking ties with friends . . . and often with family. It means giving up an established place, moving from the known into the unknown. What, then, causes people to migrate? Generally, people move from one area to another for one of two reasons; either the attractiveness of destination outweighs that of origin, or there are so many negative features at the point of origin that any place seems better. In making a rational decision the disadvantages of moving are weighed against the advantages. This would be the situation, for instance, when the head of a household, who is offered a more attractive position elsewhere, contemplates moving. When no such inducements are offered or when the migrant leaves simply to escape an unendurable environment, the attractiveness of the destination may not be so thoroughly evaluated.

Migration is also related to socio-economic and educational status. People at both extremes are characterized by high rates of mobility. Those with high status often move because of new opportunities; those with low status, to escape certain disadvantages. Undoubtedly migration to, from, and within the South involves both types.

Since World War II opportunities for blacks to migrate have increased enormously. In general, for every stream of out-migrants there is a counter stream of in-migrants who bring information about other places. Thus, immediately after World War II and the Korean conflict returning veterans brought back information, ideas, and experiences gained while away. And heavy black migration from the South followed both wars.

PATTERNS OF BLACK POPULATION GROWTH IN STATES

Though blacks continued to leave the South between 1960 and 1970, the region did not lose as many as during the 1950's, nor at as high a rate. In several states the rate of non-white migration decreased dramatically (see Table 1.) During the 1960's, 1,100,000 blacks (13 percent of the black population in 1960) moved from the eleven Southern states to other areas of the country. This compared with the 1,500,000 loss (16 percent of the 1950 population) between 1950 and 1960 (unpublished data furnished by Gladys K. Bowles, Department of Agriculture and University of Georgia).[2]

However, in both decades the black population of the South continued to grow. Between 1960 and 1970 six states had relatively high rates of growth and five had relatively low rates of growth. In Texas, Florida, Tennessee, Georgia, Virginia, and Louisiana the non-white population grew faster than in the region as a whole. Mississippi, Arkansas, Alabama, South Carolina, and North Carolina exhibited low or negative rates of growth. Only one state, Texas, had net in-migration.

The relation between the components of population change—natural increase and migration—is illustrated in Table 2. States with higher rates of growth generally had lower rates of net out-migration and slightly higher rates of natural increase. The five states with low growth had relatively low rates of natural increase and high rates of out-migration.

When black and white populations are considered separately (see Table 3) certain patterns emerge. In every Southern state except Texas the white population grew faster than the black population. In every Southern state the rate of increase for whites approximated

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF NON-WHITE OUT-MIGRANTS AND OUT-MIGRATION RATE, 1950—1960 AND 1960—1970

State	1950-1960 Number	1950-1960 Rate	1960-1970 Number	1960-1970 Rate
Alabama	224,201	−18.6	227,721	−23.8
Arkansas	150,484	−35.2	102,915	−27.4
Florida	100,283	−16.6	9,367	− 1.1
Georgia	204,337	−19.2	137,919	−12.5
Louisiana	92,434	−10.4	155,348	−14.9
Mississippi	323,932	−32.7	275,050	−29.9
N. Carolina	207,508	−19.2	172,963	−15.4
S. Carolina	218,385	−26.5	186,854	−22.5
Tennessee	57,422	−10.8	45,139	− 8.3
Texas	26,513	− 2.7	57,063	5.2
Virginia	71,369	− 9.7	67,283	− 8.9
TOTALS				
11-State South	1,476,302	−15.8	1,095,775	−12.7

TABLE 2

COMPONENTS OF NON-WHITE POPULATION CHANGE FOR THE ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES — 1960 TO 1970

State	Population Change (%)	Change Due to Net Migration (%)	Change Due to Natural Increase (%)
Mississippi	−10.6	−29.9	19.3
Arkansas	− 8.5	−27.4	18.9
Alabama	− 7.1	−22.9	15.8
S. Carolina	− 4.3	−22.5	18.2
N. Carolina	2.0	−15.4	17.4
Louisiana	5.4	−14.9	20.3
Virginia	6.5	− 8.9	15.4
Georgia	6.6	−19.2	25.8
Tennessee	8.1	− 8.3	16.4
Florida	21.2	− 1.1	22.3
Texas	24.5	5.2	19.3
TOTALS			
11-State South	5.0	−13.2	18.2

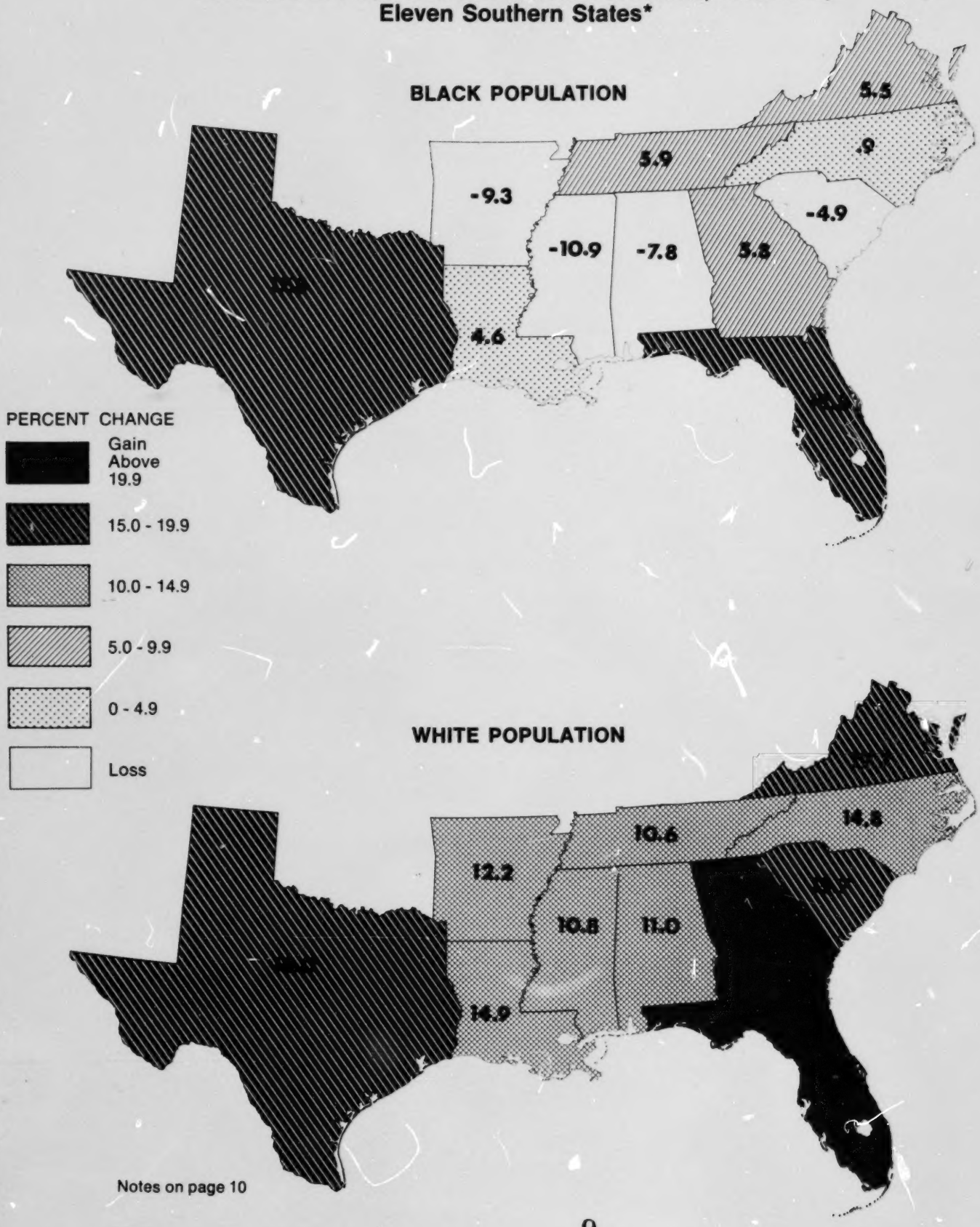
or exceeded the national rate of increase of white population (12 percent). But in nine of the Southern states the increase of black population was far lower than the 20 percent experienced by the black population nationwide.

Because its black and white populations are growing at different rates, the racial composition of the South is changing. In 1960, 22.7 percent of the South's population was black; by 1970 it was only 20.5 percent. Thus, the racial composition of the region is slowly moving toward that of the nation. Gains of whites are often accompanied by losses of blacks, and a state or county may lose large numbers of blacks and still gain whites.

Within the Southern states there were wide variations in the growth rates of black populations between 1960 and 1970. In Texas and Florida they approximated the national average, and in Tennessee, Georgia, Virginia, and Louisiana they were higher than in the South as a whole. In North Carolina growth was minimal and in Alabama, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Arkansas there were losses of blacks. The greatest losses occurred in Mississippi (-10.9 percent) and Arkansas (-9.3 percent). Table 3 ranks the eleven Southern states according to the change in the percentage of blacks during the decade from 1960 to 1970.

[2]In determining the components of growth (migration and natural increase) for the eleven Southern states, the population was computed for "Negro and other races." The assumption was that the population of "other races" within the Southern heartland was relatively small with the exception of scattered Indian populations.

BLACK AND WHITE POPULATION CHANGE, 1960-1970, Eleven Southern States*



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*Ala., Ark., Fla., Ga., La., Miss., N.C., S.C., Tenn., Tex., and Va.

In some instances the racial composition of a state changed dramatically. In Mississippi, for example, the proportion of blacks in the total population fell from 42 to 37 percent. This is a state that once had more than 50 percent black population. Table 4 shows the population of each state by proportion black.

Close analysis of Tables 3 and 4 suggests a relation between a high proportion of blacks and a high rate of black population loss. Mississippi, South Carolina, and Alabama all have large black populations, and few of their counties have negligible proportions of black residents. Further, the states which lost blacks have high proportions of rural population. With the exception of Alabama—where Birmingham's heavy industry has not expanded much in several years—none of the four states which lost blacks contained a large metropolitan area.

This raises the possibility that losses of blacks from rural areas in Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Virginia were offset by gains in the thriving cities of Atlanta, New Orleans, Charlotte, the Greensboro-Winston Salem-High Point area, and Portsmouth-Norfolk. It may be that industrial development is a deterrent to migration out of the region.

TABLE 3

RANK OF SOUTHERN STATES BY CHANGE IN PERCENTAGE OF BLACK POPULATION — 1960-1970

State	1970 Black Pop.—(000)	1970 Total Pop.—(000)	Percent Change in Pop. Black	White
Mississippi	816	2,217	−10.9	10.8
Arkansas	352	1,923	− 9.3	12.2
Alabama	903	3,444	− 7.8	11.0
S. Carolina	789	2,591	− 4.9	15.7
N. Carolina	1,126	5,082	.9	14.8
Louisiana	1,087	3,641	4.8	14.9
Virginia	861	4,648	5.5	19.7
Georgia	1,187	4,590	5.8	20.4
Tennessee	622	3,924	5.9	10.6
Texas	1,399	11,197	17.8	16.0
Florida	1,042	6,789	18.3	40.7
TOTALS	10,184*	50,045*		

*Do not total because of rounding.
Source: U. S. Bureau of Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1970 and 1960 *General Population Characteristics*. Final Report PC (1)-B1, United States Summary.

TABLE 4

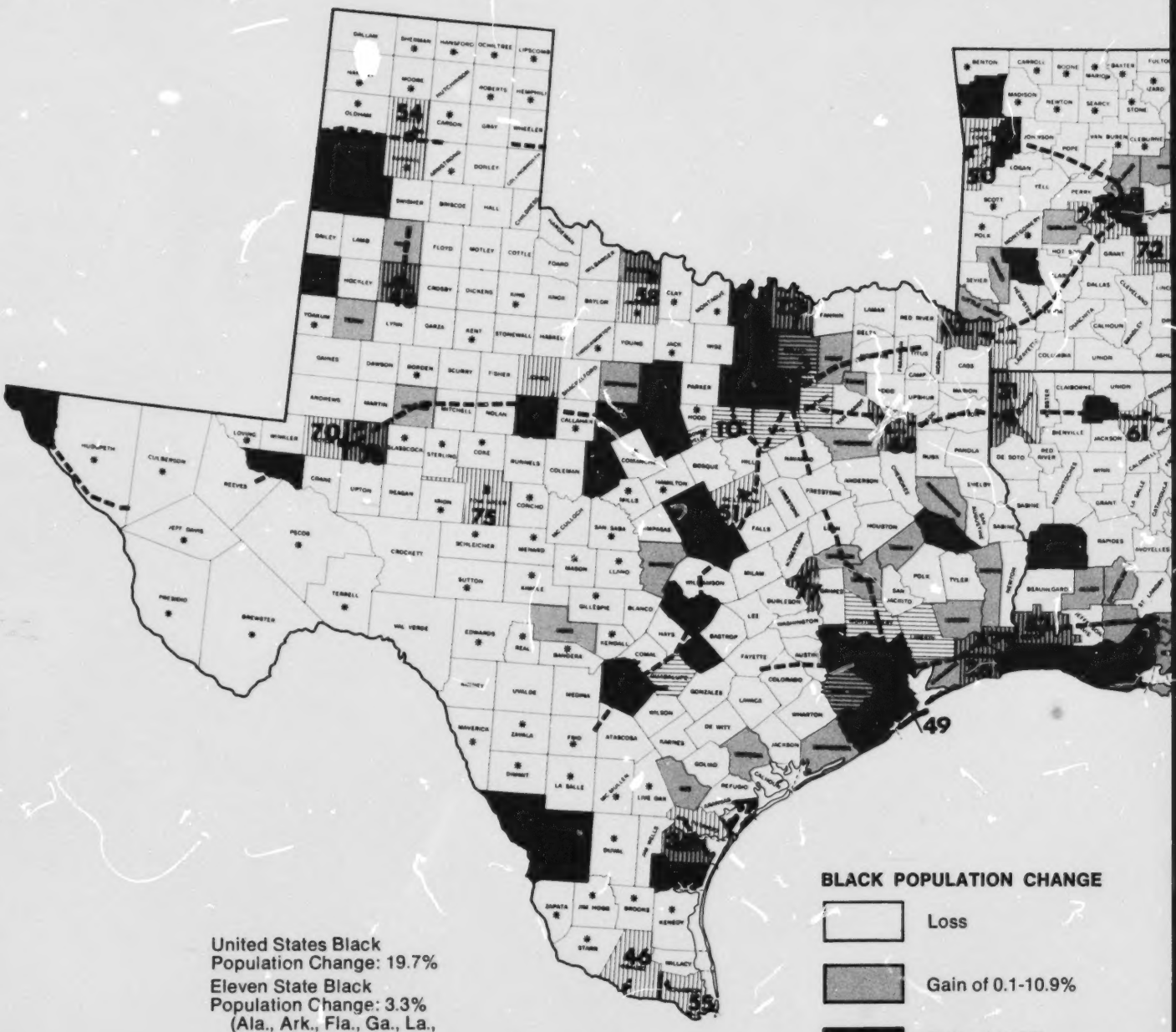
RANK OF SOUTHERN STATES BY PERCENTAGE OF BLACK POPULATION — 1970

State	1970 Black Pop. -(000)	1970 Total Pop. -(000)	Percentage Black Pop.
Mississippi	816	2,217	36.8
S. Carolina	789	2,590	30.5
Louisiana	1,087	3,641	29.8
Alabama	903	3,444	26.2
Georgia	1,187	4,590	25.9
N. Carolina	1,126	5,082	22.2
Virginia	861	4,648	18.5
Arkansas	352	1,923	18.3
Tennessee	621	3,924	15.8
Florida	1,042	6,789	15.3
Texas	1,399	11,197	12.5
TOTALS	10,183	50,045	20.3

Source: U. S. Bureau of Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1970 and 1960. *General Population Characteristics*. Final Report PC (1)-B1, United States Summary.

PERCENT CHANGE IN BLAC

Counties of Elev

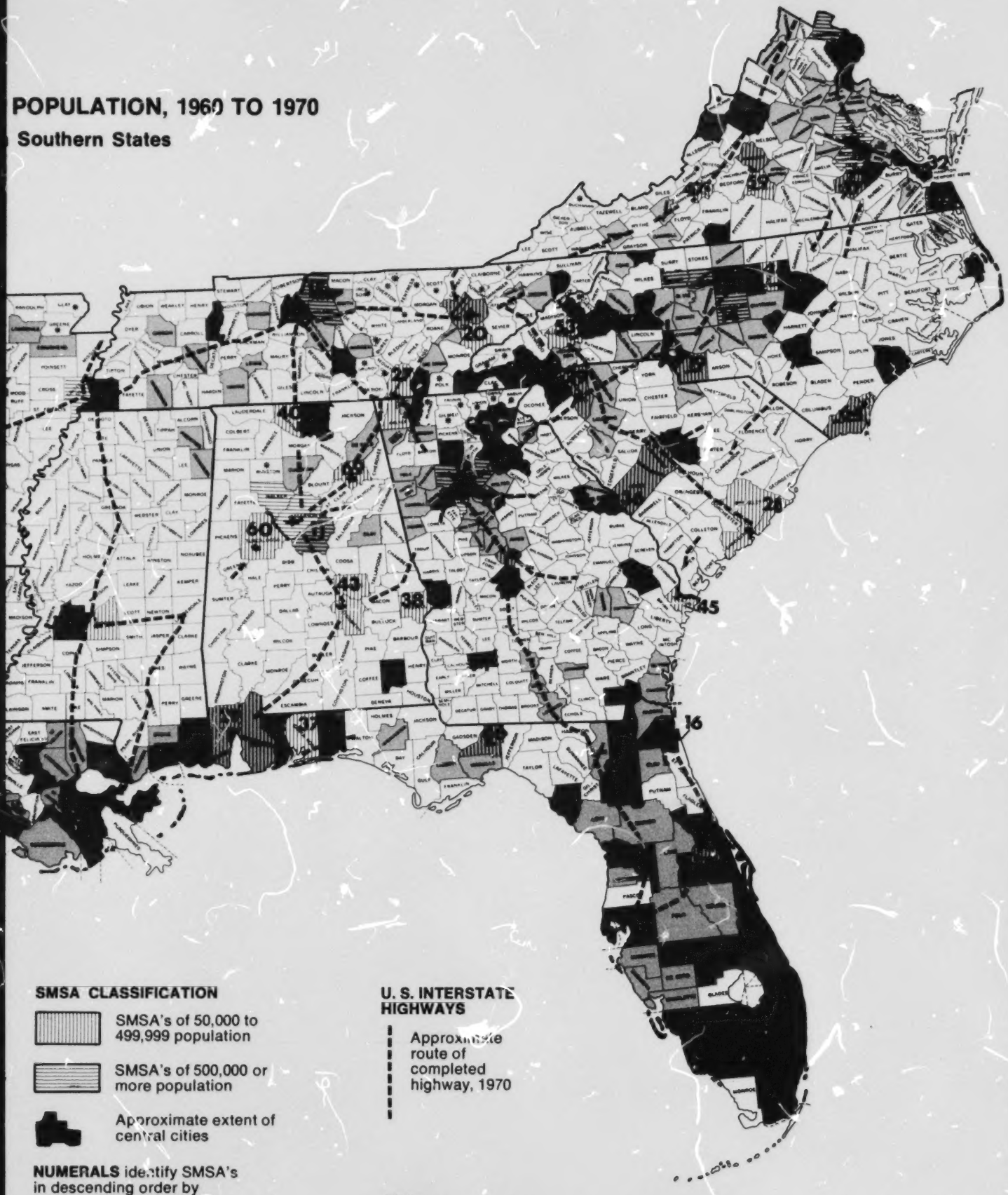


United States Black Population Change: 19.7%

Eleven State Black Population Change: 3.3% (Ala., Ark., Fla., Ga., La., Miss., N.C., S.C., Tenn., Tex., Va.)

POPULATION, 1960 TO 1970

Southern States



SMSA CLASSIFICATION

- SMSA's of 50,000 to 499,999 population
- SMSA's of 500,000 or more population
- Approximate extent of central cities

NUMERALS identify SMSA's in descending order by total population, as listed on page

U. S. INTERSTATE HIGHWAYS

- Approximate route of completed highway, 1970

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12

NOTES FOR MAPS ON PAGES 6, 8-9, 12, AND 14.

SOURCES. Population change data calculated from U. S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1960, *General Population Characteristics*, PC(1)-B Series and 1970, *General Population Characteristics*, PC(1)-B Series (based on second count data). Boundaries of SMSA's and central cities and SMSA population from United States Maps, GE-50, No. 40, "Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas: 1970." Interstate highways from appropriate state road maps.

BLACK. "Black" is synonomous on these maps with the Census 1960 and 1970 definitions of "Negro."

VIRGINIA. The 29 Independent Cities not shown on these maps have been combined with adjoining counties. Black population change for the seven Independent Cities obscured on maps: Loss-none; Gain of 0.1-10.9%: Roanoke, Newport News, Norfolk; Gain of 11.0% or more: Hampton, Lynchburg, Portsmouth, Richmond.

STANDARD METROPOLITAN STATISTICAL AREAS (SMSA's). An SMSA consists of a county or group of counties containing at least one city of 50,000 or more plus adjacent counties which are metropolitan in character and socially and economically integrated with the central city.

CENTRAL CITY. The largest city and additional cities, if they meet a population criteria, within the SMSA are central cities.

SMSA IDENTIFICATION. SMSA's identified by numeral on *Percent Change in Black Population* map (pages 8-9) are:

1. Washington, D.C.-Md.-Va.
2. Houston, Tex.
3. Dallas, Tex.
4. Atlanta, Ga.
5. Miami, Fla.
6. New Orleans, La.
7. Tampa-St. Petersburg, Fla.
8. San Antonio, Tex.
9. Memphis, Tenn.-Ark.
10. Fort Worth, Tex.
11. Birmingham, Ala.
12. Norfolk-Portsmouth, Va.
13. Ft. Lauderdale-Hollywood, Fla.
14. Greensboro-Winston Salem-High Point, N. C.
15. Nashville, Tenn.
16. Jacksonville, Fla.
17. Richmond, Va.
18. Orlando, Fla.
19. Charlotte, N. C.
20. Knoxville, Tenn.
21. Mobile, Ala.
22. El Paso, Tex.
23. West Palm Beach, Fla.
24. Little Rock-North Little Rock, Ark.
25. Columbia, S. C.
26. Beaumont-Port Arthur-Orange, Tex.
27. Chattanooga, Tenn.-Ga.
28. Charleston, S. C.
29. Greenville, S. C.
30. Austin, Tex.
31. Shreveport, La.
32. Newport News-Hampton, Va.
33. Baton Rouge, La.
34. Corpus Christi, Tex.
35. Jackson, Miss.
36. Augusta, Ga.-S. C.
37. Pensacola, Fla.
38. Columbus, Ga.-Ala.
39. Raleigh N. C.
40. Huntsville, Ala.
41. Fayetteville, N. C.
42. Macon, Ga.
43. Montgomery, Ala.
44. Durham, N. C.
45. Savannah, Ga.
46. McAllen-Pharr-Edinburg, Tex.
47. Roanoke, Va.
48. Lubbock, Tex.
49. Galveston-Texas City, Tex.
50. Fort Smith, Ark.
51. Waco, Tex.
52. Lake Charles, La.
53. Asheville, N. C.
54. Amarillo, Tex.
55. Brownsville-Harlingen-San Benito, Tex.
56. Biloxi-Gulfport, Miss.
57. Petersburg-Colonial Heights, Va.
58. Wichita Falls, Tex.
59. Lynchburg, Va.
60. Tuscaloosa, Ala.
61. Monroe, La.
62. Abilene, Tex.
63. Lafayette, La.
64. Wilmington, N. C.
65. Gainesville, Fla.
66. Tallahassee, Fla.
67. Texarkana, Tex.
68. Tyler, Tex.
69. Gadsden, Ala.
70. Odessa, Tex.
71. Albany, Ga.
72. Pine Bluff, Ark.
73. Sherman-Denison, Tex.
74. Laredo, Tex.
75. San Angelo, Tex.
76. Midland, Tex.
77. Bryan-College Station, Tex.

COUNTIES

Just as Southern blacks are not distributed uniformly by state (Texas is 13 percent black while Mississippi is 37 percent black), they are not distributed uniformly among Southern counties. In fact, there is a wide range in density and rate of growth among counties.

Altogether there are 1,105 counties in the eleven Southern states, of which only 102 have a population more than 50 percent black. However, the black population of these 102 counties is nearly a million — ten percent of all Southern blacks. At the other end of the spectrum, 407 counties have populations less than ten percent black. Approximately 1.2 million blacks — 11.1 percent of the South's black population — live in these counties. Thus, four out of five blacks live in counties where blacks constitute between ten and 50 percent of the total population (see Table 5).*

*114 of the 1,105 counties had fewer than 100 blacks in 1960. Eliminating these counties leaves 991 with sufficient population for statistical manipulation.

TABLE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF COUNTIES BY PERCENTAGE BLACK, 1970.

Percent Black 1970	Number of Counties	Black Population 1970 (000)
60.0 and above	42	320
50.0 to 59.9	60	621
30.0 to 49.9	248	3,622
20.0 to 29.9	170	2,240
10.0 to 19.9	178	2,101
0.0 to 9.9	407	1,179
TOTALS	1,105	10,183

Source: U. S. Bureau of Census. U. S. Census of Population: 1970 and 1960. *General Population Characteristics*. Final Report PC(1)-B1, United States Summary.

TABLE 6

PROPORTION OF COUNTIES LOSING BLACK POPULATION, 1960 TO 1970

State	Number of Counties * 1960	Number of Counties Losing Blacks 1960-1970	Percent of Counties Losing Blacks 1960-70
Mississippi	82	74	90.2
Alabama	66	58	87.9
South Carolina	46	37	80.4
Arkansas	56	45	80.4
Tennessee	82	57	69.5
Texas	188	125	66.5
Georgia	152	101	66.4
Virginia	93	57	61.3
North Carolina	96	56	58.3
Louisiana	64	37	57.8
Florida	66	22	33.3
TOTALS	991	669	67.5

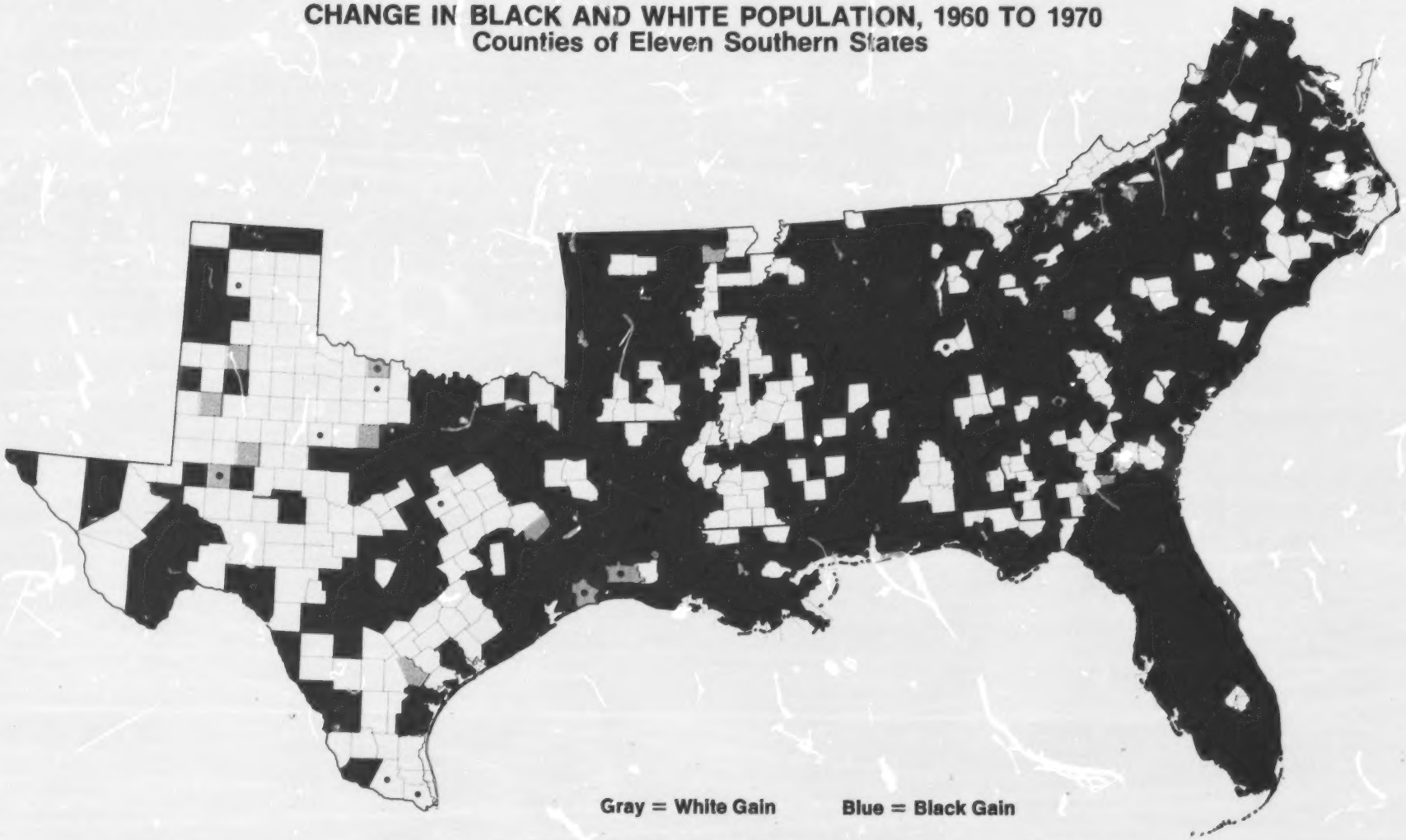
Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1970. *General Population Characteristics*. Final Report PC(1)-B1 Series.

Though the rate of black population growth varies widely from county to county, the overall picture for the region is one of black population loss. Of the 991 counties with more than 100 blacks, 70 percent -- 669 counties — lost blacks between 1960 and 1970 (see Table 6). Not surprisingly, the states which showed the greatest losses also had many counties with heavy losses. In Mississippi nine out of ten counties lost blacks.

As with the states, a high rate of decline in black population is related to a high proportion of blacks in the total population (see Table 7). Those counties with 50 percent or more black population lost one black for every six residing in the county at the beginning of the decade. Again, a small number of blacks in a county appears to be related to a relatively high rate of black growth. At the close of the 1960's there were 585 counties where blacks constituted less than 20 percent of the total population. Though some of these counties lost blacks and some had a black population too small for statistical analysis, they exhibit a general trend toward a higher rate of increase of blacks when they are considered as a bloc. Their overall rate, in fact, was 18.7 percent, little less than the national average of 20 percent.

An important factor is the metropolitan status of the county. Of the 585 counties with less than 20 percent black population, 498 are nonmetropolitan and 87

CHANGE IN BLACK AND WHITE POPULATION, 1960 TO 1970
Counties of Eleven Southern States



Gray = White Gain

Blue = Black Gain

COUNTIES WITH WHITE POPULATION LOSS

- Black loss
- Black gain of 0.1-10.9%
- Black gain of 11.0% or more

COUNTIES WITH WHITE POPULATION GAIN

- Black loss
- Black gain of 0.1-10.9%
- Black gain of 11.0% or more

• SMSA Counties

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are metropolitan. As Table 7 shows, the metropolitan counties in this category grew twice as fast as non-metropolitan counties (25 percent as compared to 12 percent). Further, as Table 7 shows, the 87 metropolitan counties with less than 20 percent black population grew twice as fast as the 49 metropolitan counties where blacks made up more than 20 percent of the population.

Clearly a redistribution of the black population in the region is under way. While it is not possible to draw categorical conclusions from the statistics of 585 counties which contain only a third of the region's black population, certain inferences do seem to follow. Heavily black areas are losing blacks, while counties with relatively few blacks are gaining black population. A continuation of such a trend would eventually even out the distribution of black population, at least among metropolitan counties.

TABLE 7

GROWTH OF BLACK POPULATION IN SOUTHERN COUNTIES BY PERCENT BLACK AND METROPOLITAN STATUS 1960 TO 1970

Percent Black in 1970	Number of Counties	Percent Growth 1960-1970
20% +	520	
Metro	49	12.0
Non-metro	471	−9.5
0-10.9	585	
Metro	87	24.6
Non-metro	498	12.0
TOTAL	1,105	3.3

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1970. *General Population Characteristics*. Final Report PC(1)-B1. United States Summary.

METROPOLITAN AREAS

In 1970 there were 77 Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's) within the South. Within these, a distinction is drawn between the central city and the ring. A central city is defined as a city or twin cities with a population of more than 50,000. The ring, on the other hand, encompasses the remainder of the central county and the adjoining counties which are economically integrated with the central city. As already noted, the highest rates of growth of black population occur in metropolitan areas. Within these areas, however, there were distinct differences between the rings and the central cities.

Across the nation, the movement of blacks into cities has been accompanied by the movement of whites from central cities to the suburbs, or "metropolitan rings". As a result, central cities have become increasingly black. Over 20 percent of the population of the 243 metropolitan areas in the United States is black. But in the "rings" blacks constitute only five percent of the population.

Figures for the South are consistent with those for the nation. In the South, about 27 percent of central city population is black, as is 10 percent of the ring population. In many Southern cities blacks constitute more than 30 percent of the total central city population, and there are 10 in which blacks account for more than 40 percent. These are:

Central City	*PERCENT BLACK, 1970*
Washington, D.C.	71
Atlanta, Georgia	51
Augusta, Georgia	50
New Orleans, Louisiana	45
Charleston, South Carolina	45
Savannah, Georgia	45
Birmingham, Alabama	42
Richmond, Virginia	42
Pine Bluff, Arkansas	42
Jackson, Mississippi	40

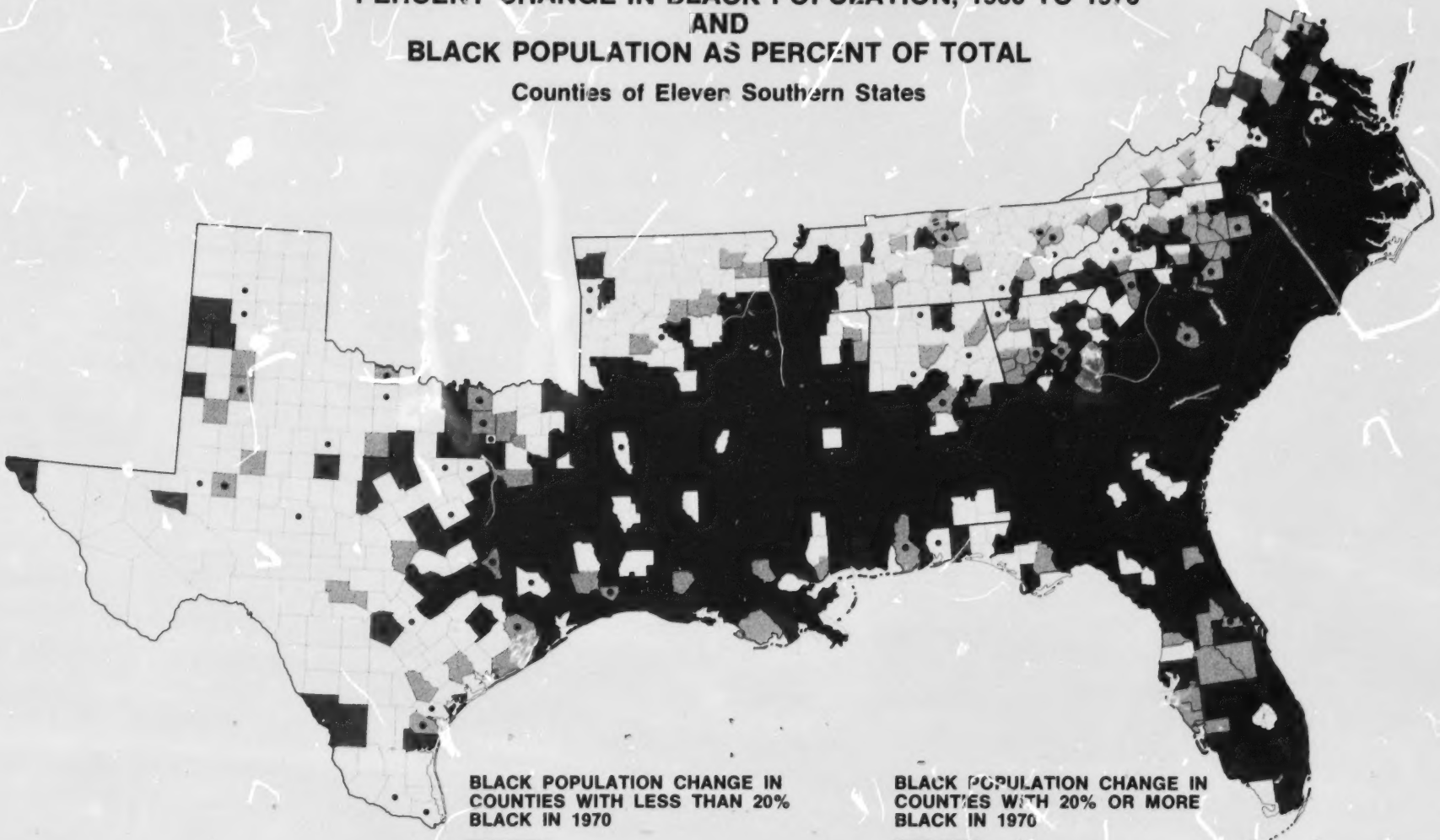
As elsewhere, large cities in the South are becoming increasingly black and, as elsewhere, the migration of whites to the suburbs is a major factor in the shift in racial composition. In this regard, the South follows trends set by other parts of the country, and may soon experience similar problems of *de facto* and *de jure* segregation.

The Southern SMSA's contain some six million blacks, or about 60 percent of the South's total black population. In 1970, blacks constituted 20 percent of the metropolitan population of the South. Though the Southern black metropolitan population is increasing, it is increasing at a lower rate than the corresponding white population. Between 1960 and 1970 blacks in Southern metropolitan areas increased by 18.4 percent as compared with 23.4 percent for the total population. As Table 8 illustrates, the states with the heaviest proportions of blacks in metropolitan areas are those of the Deep South; in Virginia, Florida, and Texas relatively low proportions of the metropolitan population are black. Though the general picture for the black metropolitan population in the South is one of growth, there are some exceptions: the metropolitan populations of Arkansas and South Carolina are growing slowly and that of Alabama is actually declining.

Several metropolitan areas of the South experienced relatively heavy gains in black population over the

PERCENT CHANGE IN BLACK POPULATION, 1960 TO 1970 AND BLACK POPULATION AS PERCENT OF TOTAL

Counties of Eleven Southern States


BLACK POPULATION CHANGE IN COUNTIES WITH LESS THAN 20% BLACK IN 1970
Loss
Gain of 0.1-10.9%
Gain of 11.0% or more
BLACK POPULATION CHANGE IN COUNTIES WITH 20% OR MORE BLACK IN 1970
Loss
Gain of 0.1-10.9%
Gain of 11.0% or more
• SMSA Counties

Notes on page 10

decade. Table 9 shows those SMSA's which gained most heavily in black population. Two million blacks, 40 percent of the South's black metropolitan population, live in these seven SMSA's. In all of these the increase in the number of blacks was a third or more, and in Dallas it was no less than a half. The growth of black population, however, was simply one aspect of a high rate of overall growth and in Houston, Atlanta, and Fort Lauderdale the proportion of blacks actually fell because white rates of increase were even higher than those of blacks.

Further analysis of the growth patterns of Southern SMSA's reveals an almost perfect relationship between size of SMSA, proportion black, and decennial change (See Table 10). Both the largest proportions of blacks and the greatest decennial change are in the largest metropolitan areas.

When black population growth in the rings and the central cities is analyzed by size of SMSA, several patterns emerge (see Table 11). Generally the proportion black in the central city decreases with size of the SMSA, while the proportion black in the rings increases as size of SMSA decreases. On the other hand, the *rate* of increase of black population in the rings decreases as SMSA size decreases. The smallest metropolitan areas lost more than a quarter of their 1960 black population.

The high rate of growth for the largest SMSA's seems to indicate that large cities are increasingly seen as the places of most opportunity for blacks. In

TABLE 8

*TOTAL AND BLACK METROPOLITAN POPULATION IN 1970 AND INCREASE IN BLACK POPULATION, 1960-1970: SOUTHERN STATES**

State	1970 Total Metro Population (000)	1970 Black Metro Population (000)	Percent Black	1960-1970 Percent Increase in Black Population
Mississippi	393	119	30.3	11.8
Louisiana	1,996	590	29.6	11.3
Alabama	1,801	500	27.8	− 3.1
Georgia	2,280	563	24.7	21.7
S. Carolina	1,017	246	24.2	4.7
Tennessee	1,918	439	22.9	13.4
Arkansas	595	132	22.2	1.2
N. Carolina	1,896	409	21.6	17.5
Virginia	2,846	513	18.0	14.3
Florida	4,657	708	15.2	23.7
Texas	8,324	1,067	12.8	30.3
TOTALS	27,723	5,286	19.1	16.1

*Including portion of Washington, D. C. in Virginia.
Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. Census of Population and Housing: 1970. *General Demographic Trends for Metropolitan Areas, 1960 to 1970.* PHC(2)-1 United States Summary.

TABLE 9

SOUTHERN SMSA's WITH HIGH RATES OF GROWTH OF BLACK POPULATION

	1970 Black Population (00)	Percent Black 1970	Percent Change In Black Population 1960-1970
Washington, D. C.	704	24.6	42.0
Houston, Texas	384	19.3	38.5
Dallas, Texas	249	15.9	50.0
Atlanta, Georgia	311	22.3	34.2
Miami, Florida	190	15.0	38.2
Fort Worth, Texas	83	10.9	37.2
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.	77	12.5	41.2

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. Census of Population and Housing: 1970. *General Demographic Trends for Metropolitan Areas, 1960 to 1970.* Final Report PHC(2)-1 United States Summary.

some cities this is accompanied by the high rate of black growth in the ring counties. In the larger metropolitan areas, the suburbs tend to be densely settled and to have attractive features of their own which attract blacks of higher socio-economic level. An excellent illustration of this phenomenon is DeKalb County, Georgia, which adjoins the city of Atlanta. Composed primarily of middle-income subdivisions radiating for miles around the small county seat of Decatur, and long noted for the excellence of its public schools, DeKalb increased its black population by more than 150 percent between 1960 and 1970.

The high growth rate of the smaller central cities suggests different conclusions. In the smaller SMSA's, the bulk of both white and black populations is typically located in the central city. In general, the suburban territory is still sparsely settled and largely farm or rural non-farm. Everywhere blacks are leaving the farm and there is evidence that blacks find employment at good wages more easily in cities than in towns or in the countryside. For a variety of reasons, not all of them economic, blacks find the central city far more attractive than the metropolitan hinterland of smaller SMSA's.

TABLE 10

INCREASE IN BLACK POPULATION BY SIZE OF SMSA, 1960-1970

Size of SMSA	Black Population Number (000)	1970 Proportion Black	Percent Increase 1960 to 1970
1,000,000+	2,270	20.4	35.6
500,000 - 999,999	1,359	20.5	12.3
250,000 - 499,999	1,239	20.1	9.6
100,000 - 249,999	929	19.5	7.4
50,000 - 99,999	135	16.7	3.8
TOTALS	5,932	21.0	18.4

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. Census of the Population and Housing: 1970 *General Demographic Trends for Metropolitan Area, 1960 to 1970.* PHC(2)-1 United States Summary.

TABLE 11

INCREASE IN BLACK POPULATION OF CENTRAL CITIES AND RINGS BY SIZE OF SMSA, SOUTH 1960-1970

Size of SMSA	1970 Number of Blacks (Central City)	(Ring)	Proportion Black (Central City)	(Ring)	1960-1970 Percent Increase (Central City)	(Ring)
1,000,000 and above	1,750	520	36.8	8.2	33.4	43.6
500,000 - 999,999	1,064	295	25.4	12.1	16.3	0.0
250,000 - 499,999	758	481	24.3	15.7	10.3	8.8
100,000 - 249,999	600	329	22.4	15.8	15.4	-4.9
50,000 - 99,999	105	30	16.9	16.2	19.3	-26.2
TOTALS	4,277	1,655	27.9	11.7	21.5	11.3

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. Census of Population and Housing: 1970. *General Demographic Trends for Metropolitan Areas, 1960 to 1970.* Final Report PHC(2)-1 United States Summary.

CONCLUSION

What may we conclude from the materials presented in this report?

In the first place the growth of black population lags behind that of whites. So, year by year, the South becomes increasingly white. Losses of black population are frequent and heavy in rural counties, so Southern blacks are increasingly concentrated in metropolitan areas. And within the metropolitan areas blacks are clustered in central cities, with relatively few making their way into the more affluent suburbs.

Still, the South has not experienced the full range of problems that are associated with Northern ghettos, and there is still a more even distribution of blacks and whites within the South. The trends, however, are disquieting. Southern cities are developing white rings around black cores, and the black population of the South is leaving the non-metropolitan areas for the city. It is likely, however, that Southern cities are becoming more attractive to blacks and more of those who leave rural areas in the South will choose to remain in the region rather than go to New York, Detroit, or Chicago.

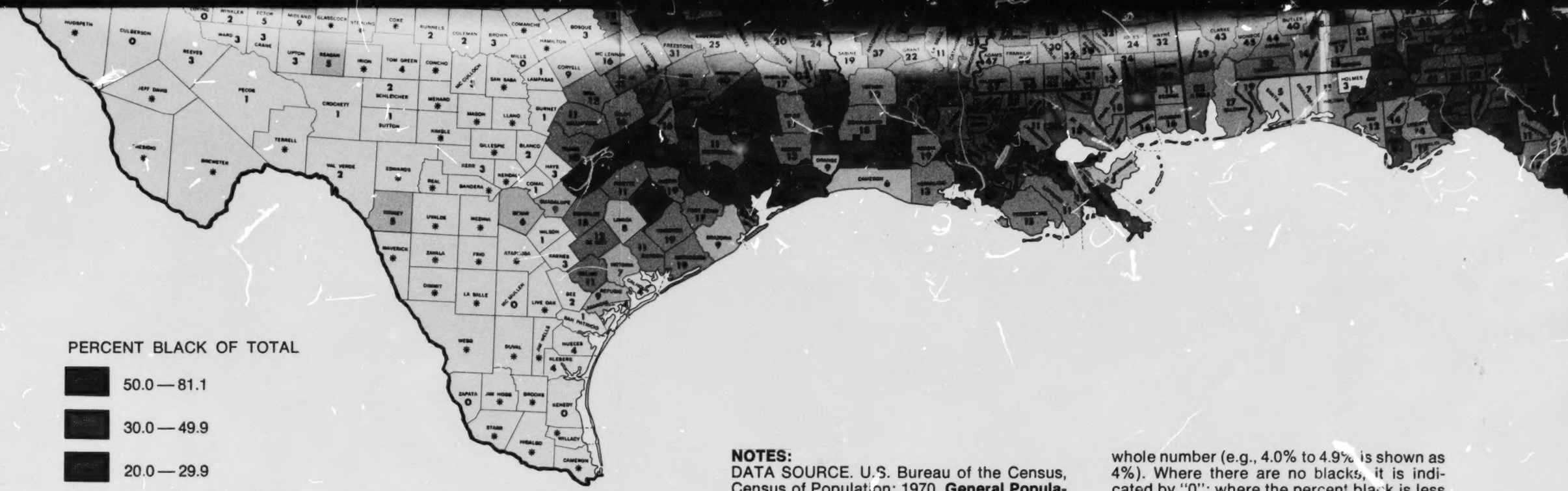
BLACK POPULATION AS PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULAT

Counties of Eleven Southern States: 1970

TOTAL POPULATION

tates: 1970

CARTER
JOHNSON
GREENE
WASHINGTON
SULLIVAN
HAWKINS
CLAIBORNE
SCOTT
CAMPBELL
ANDERSON
KNOX
BLOUNT
SEVIER
JEFFERSON
COCKE
MADISON
MONROE
POLK
MCMINN
MEIGS
RHEA
ROANE
MORGAN
FENTRESS
PICKETT
OVERTON
PUTNAM
WHITE
CUMBERLAND
VAN BUREN
WARREN
COFFEE
GRUNDY
SEQUATCHIE
BLEDSOE
HAMILTON
MARION
DE KALB
CANNON
SMITH
WILSON
TROUSDALE
MACON
CLAY
JACKSON
OVERTON
PICKETT
FENTRESS
MORGAN
SCOTT
CAMPBELL
ANDERSON
KNOX
BLOUNT
SEVIER
JEFFERSON
COCKE
GREENE
WASHINGTON
SULLIVAN
HAWKINS
CLAIBORNE
GRAINGER
UNION
CAMPBELL
ANDERSON
KNOX
BLOUNT
LOUDON
MONROE
POLK
MCMINN
MEIGS
RHEA
ROANE
ROANE
CUMBERLAND
PUTNAM
WHITE



PERCENT BLACK OF TOTAL

- 50.0 — 81.1
- 30.0 — 49.9
- 20.0 — 29.9
- 10.0 — 19.9
- 5.0 — 9.9
- Less than 5.0

U.S. TOTAL PERCENT BLACK 11.1%

ELEVEN STATE TOTAL PERCENT BLACK 20.4%
(Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia.)

NOTES:

DATA SOURCE. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Population: 1970, **General Population Characteristics,** PC(1) B Series (based on second count data).

BLACK. "Black" is synonomous on this map with the Census 1970 definition of "Negro."

NUMBERS ON COUNTIES. The numbers are the percent black population of the total population in each county. The percent was calculated to one decimal place. However, the decimal place was dropped to leave a whole number (e.g., 4.0% to 4.9% is shown as 4%). Where there are no blacks, it is indicated by "0"; where the percent black is less than 1.0%, it is indicated by "*".

VIRGINIA. The percent black for nine independent cities is: Chesapeake 23%; Hampton 25%; Lynchburg 23%; Newport News 28%; Norfolk 28%; Portsmouth 39%; Richmond 42%; Roanoke 19%; Virginia Beach 9%. The remaining 29 independent cities have been combined by the Census with adjoining counties.

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